1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

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For the most part this was achieved after 1953 by transferring the stockshares of such enterprises as paper, mining, and cement to former landlords in payment for their government-purchased land (Chang, 1954:77–79; T'ang, 1954:164–173). But it was clear from the outset that some of these enterprises were less profitable than others and, as far as the landlords were concerned, less acceptable (Chang, 1954:79). Although it was common knowledge that many of the stockshares they received were not worth face value, the landlords could do little but grumble and complain.

T Tn 423 455

After the issuance of the stockshares, business speculators frequently toured the countryside, telling the unwary stockshare holders that the value of the shares they held was very low. They offered cash for these shares at a slightly higher price than they were actually worth, and some landlords in the Hsin Hsing area sold out. Later, they learned that the stock values had risen and that they had been "cheated." This happened mostly to small landlords who lacked business experience. It added to dissatisfaction over the land reform and the feeling that the government had ruined the landlords.

T 423 556

A middle-aged man from one of the formerly big landlord families in the Hsin Hsing area spoke critically of the Land Reform Program and of how it hurt the landlord. Despite his bitterness, however, he admitted that "now the landlord no longer can spend all his time playing around drinking, gambling, and seeing shows. Now, in order to live, he must go out to work and do business. In the old days if the landlord played a lot and needed more money to finance his entertainment, he could just raise his rents."

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But, much more important, the Land Reform Program had a major effect on the landlord class in the Hsin Hsing area and possibly in Taiwan generally, and as a result a major effect on the general economy of Taiwan and thus on life in many villages. Before land reform it was traditional in China for the wealthy to buy land for investment or simply for purposes of security. To these landlords, and especially to many urban people, the Land Reform Program made it evident that it was no longer profitable nor even safe to invest their capital in the land. Instead, these people, in addition to their forced participation in industry through being paid in shares of stock for expropriated land, have now in many cases begun to shift their excess capital willingly into industrial, commercial, and small business activities in urban centers and in the smaller market towns. When money was invested in the small market towns, it usually went into financing light industry or small businesses and often meant that the investor needed new technical knowledge. In some cases, the landlords or their sons became greatly involved in business activities, gradually sold off portions of the three *chia* of land which they had been allowed to retain under

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recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be an ossification of socioeconomic mobility *within* the rural area. The traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

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Family and Kinship

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The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilateral and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

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Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine interfamily and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE *TSU*

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Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:175; de Groot, vol. 1, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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was the institution that perhaps four out of every five persons were members of an organized *tsu* (Lang, 1946:173).

Tsu organization performed many important activities and functions, as Hu Hsien-chin (1948:10) has pointed out:

> The *tsu* keeps a record of its descent lines by the compilation of genealogies. It is endowed with property by well-to-do members and uses the income to defray the expenses of ancestral ritual, to assist young members to attain an education, to help out destitute members in old age or when orphaned, and to provide burial space for the dead. Where the *tsu* constitutes a community, community affairs are managed by its leaders. Furthermore the *tsu* is interested in promoting the social standing of its members, as their prestige raises the reputation and influence of the group, and it is much concerned with straightening out differences between members and with keeping up the sense of moral values with the family and the *tsu*.
>
> These features have allowed the *tsu* to develop considerable solidarity and have enabled it to compete successfully for prestige and power against similar groups in the same neighborhood.

These activities and functions were performed by a highly structured and highly segmented organization with a population of two or three thousand people, as Freedman (1958:132) has noted. The membership is characterized by broad social differentiation including

> families of bureaucrats, . . . some well-to-do merchants, a proportion of small traders and craftsmen, and a mass of cultivators, the greater part of whom work land held in the name of the lineage or its various segments. The majority of the members of the lineage are poor, but the lineage as a whole is corporately rich in land, ancestral halls, and such other items of property as rice mills. Men tend to stay within the community, and even if they go out of it in order to take office or engage in business they leave their families behind, return when they are older, and send money back.

In fact, Hu (1948:10) notes that although the membership of the *tsu* may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with the ancestral graves and the ancestral hall where the memory of the ancestors is venerated."

The *tsu* as Hu (1948) and Freedman (1958) describe it is elaborate in structure, function, and activity. Freedman, however, suggests that loosely structured organizations are still to be considered *tsu* and accordingly constructs a scale on which localized lineages may be placed, differentiating them in social status along a "continuum from A to Z" (1958:131), representing "models of the polar opposities of the scale" (1958:131). Thus, the *tsu* pictured above by Hu and Freedman would be the "Z" model while "A" model is

> small in numbers, with a population of two or three hundred souls. Apart from one or two small shopkeepers and a few craftsmen, its members are cultivators of small pieces of land which they own outright or rent from

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external landlords. Their general level of income is low. They own no common property except for a plot of land which is the grave site of the founding ancestor. . . . Apart from domestic ancestor worship, which is conducted before the simplest instruments, and annual rites at the tomb of the founder of the lineage, there is no ancestor cult. There is no recorded genealogy, individual men being placed in the system merely by their generation (which is indicated by their personal names) and their ascription to one or the other of the sub-lineages which trace their origin from the sons of the founder. No genealogical unit stands between the sub-lineage and the household, nor is there any tendency for groups of closely related households to co-operate economically and ritually. Headship of the sub-lineages and the lineage passes to the oldest men in the senior generation of these units, no other formal leaders being recognized. Disputes are brought before sub-lineage heads, but when they cannot be resolved a gentleman from the protecting community is brought in to try to reach a settlement (Freedman, 1958: 131–132).

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The continuum can be even further extended to include the very small localized kinship organizations found in many villages in Taiwan (such as in the Hsin Hsing area) and probably also on the mainland of China. Before going on to a discussion of family I will attempt to demonstrate this. In both structure and function, these small localized kinship organizations go beyond what Freedman refers to as "inflated families" [1] and which he warns us not to confuse with lineages (1958:2). Such kinship organizations as exist in Hsin Hsing do not quite approach either the size or structural complexity even of Freedman's "A model" *tsu*. Nevertheless, these kinship organizations —on the basis of their activities and functions—are *tsu*, since they are more than simply patrilineally related families. They do operate as local organizations which are aligned on the basis of patrilineal kinship and attempt to wield sociopolitical influence in the village and area.

The Single-Tsu Village

The general social organization of a village made up exclusively of one *tsu* group is likely to be rather different from a village like Hsin Hsing, which contains a number of smaller *tsu* and unrelated family units. The village with a single large *tsu*, as has been pointed out (Hu, 1948:9–11), tends to have a unified organization which dominates most of the village's activities. No matter how many village "social associations" a villager belongs to, he finds that the members of each are all part of the same kinship group. While this does not necessarily eliminate interfamily or interfactional rivalry and friction within the village, such *tsu* organization nevertheless does tend to create an unusually firm basis for group solidarity. The *tsu*, in effect, is the village and is thus very easily able to present itself as a unified

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much-watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of 596 the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 per- 592 cent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint 162 families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

596 The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

[171] In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

[162] According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin [592] Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.5 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, al- [592] though perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. 421 Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general 596 household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Thus, while marriage outside the village is preferred, it is far from being a strict pattern in the Hsin Hsing area. Villagers do not frown upon nor criticize intravillage marriages, though they good-naturedly joke about the manner in which they were supposedly brought about. This, however, in no way appears to injure the status of the families or of the couple.

The most basic factor favoring marriage outside the village is the family's desire to extend and solidify its connections with new families in different places, most preferably with families with which there is no already existing *ch'in ch'i* relationship. Families in a village like Hsin Hsing, where they have a limited number of *tsu* relatives, feel it a definite advantage to extend their connections to families with which they can have relationships not marred by the enforced intimacy which so often spoils the relations between *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers. Marriage between two Hsin Hsing families technically produces a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, but proximity tends to produce an enforced intimacy which has the disadvantages without the advantages of the *ch'in tsu* bond. The courtesy and warmth normally typical between *ch'in ch'i* is eroded by the frequent contact and increased opportunities for conflict.

Cousin Marriage

Although, as already indicated, there is a definite surname exogamy and a preference for marriage outside the village, there is no preference for any form of cousin marriage over noncousin marriage in the Hsin Hsing village area of Taiwan. It would be convenient if, on the basis of investigations made on the mainland, such a nonpreference as found in this area of Taiwan could be shown to be universal for Chinese society; however, the relatively few published studies that deal with aspects of cousin marriage in mainland China differ greatly in their findings. For example, the literature indicates that of the two possible forms of cross-cousin marriage—with mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral) or father's sister's daughter (patrilateral)—in some mainland areas considerable feeling is expressed against one or the other or both, but particularly against the patrilateral form. In many parts of China the latter is technically allowed, but not socially acceptable in practice. Thus the over-all picture is both confused and confusing, and the only present certainty is that the patterns of practice and acceptance vary widely throughout mainland China.[7]

In the Hsin Hsing village area, while there is acceptance of some forms of cousin marriage, no single type is actually preferred to noncousin marriage, and although most forms of cousin marriage are technically allowed, they are not equally acceptable. It is thus apparent that in this area, like many on the mainland, the allowance of cross-cousin marriage is certainly not symmetrical.[8] In any case, in Hsin

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582 618 no attempt either by Hsin Hsing villagers or other villagers in the area to develop any definite system of connubium between particular *tsu* groups. This is similar to what Freedman (1958:98–100) finds for Kwangtung and Fukien. It is especially true for the Hsin Hsing area, [171] [114] where most *tsu* groups are so small relatively that their size would tend to limit marriage choices too narrowly. *Tsu* groups therefore have little interest in cementing mutual relationships through marriage patterns. Instead, marriage arrangements in the Hsin Hsing village area are "cast in many directions" (Freedman, 1958:100).

582 The unstructured habit of marriage arrangement is evidenced by the great range of villages, cities, and areas from which wives in the village came. The 154 married women in the village in 1958 whose origin was traced came from a total of 52 different places. Sixty-six came from 19 different villages (including Hsin Hsing) in Pu Yen Hsiang. Fifty-four came from 18 different villages in the neighboring *hsiang* of Fu Hsing. Eight women came from Lukang and 6 from the market town of Chi Hu, about five miles away from Hsin Hsing. The remaining 20 came from 13 other places which ranged from villages in other nearby *hsiang* all the way to the distant cities of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hsin Chu.

There does not even appear to be any real patterning in the birthplaces of the women who came to Hsin Hsing from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang and the neighboring Fu Hsing Hsiang. Although 24 women, or more than one-third of all who came to Hsin Hsing from Pu Yen Hsiang, are from the one village of Hsi Shih Hu, this seems to be mainly because it is the largest village in the *hsiang*. In addition, the women from Hsi Shih Hu frequently act as matchmakers between other girls from their own village and Hsin Hsing village families. The same seems to be true for the large village of Fan She, from which 25 percent of all the girls marrying into Hsin Hsing village from Fu Hsing Hsiang come. Their common origin affects in some ways the relations between the Hsin Hsing families into which these women have married. In the early years of marriage the women of about the same age tend to be more friendly. In addition, when either Hsin Hsing or the native village of these women observes a religious festival occasion, the men from Hsin Hsing who are married to women from the same village may go there together, just as the male relatives from the wives' village may come as a group to visit Hsin Hsing.

It was possible to trace in the records and through interviews the place of marriage for only 41 Hsin Hsing village women; again there was no particular marriage pattern. Of the 41, 9 were married into 5 villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, 14 into 8 villages in Fu Hsing Hsiang, 9 into Lukang, and the remaining 9 into 5 other places which included more distant *hsiang* and cities such as Taipei and Taichung. It is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *siaosiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

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be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars. These girls are still recognized as *yang nu*.

The majority of girls adopted in Hsin Hsing or adopted from the village either come from or go to villages in the Hsin Hsing area. Of the 39 recorded cases of girl adoptions (over a period of some 50 years), 29 of the girls came from villages in Pu Yen Hsiang or nearby Fu Hsing Hsiang; an additional 3 came from Lukang and 1 from the nearby market town of Chi Hu. The other 6 girls came from more distant places such as Taipei or other cities.

Of the 39, only 5 were between two families within Hsin Hsing village. In most cases of girl adoption, as in almost all adoptions in or away from Hsin Hsing, the two families involved in the adoptions are not related. That most girl adoptions take place between families from other villages is a clear indication that these families are not *ch'in tsu* of the Hsin Hsing village families. In most cases they also do not have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship until after the adoption. Even adoptions between Hsin Hsing families were not between related families. At most the families are simply friends.

Siaosiv *Marriage*

In a discussion of problems Chinese families have in securing brides for their sons, Olga Lang reports that it is not uncommon for them to "arrange to have their sons' future brides brought up in their homes—a practice especially widespread in the South" (1946:127). She also observes (in a footnote) that "the custom was well known in old China (it was mentioned even in the legal code of the Yuan dynasty). Though it did not become universal, the number of arrangements of this kind always increased in hard times" (1946:127). She attributes the necessity for such arrangements partially to the common shortage of marriageable women and partially to the high cost of marriage, that is, the expense of obtaining a wife for a son as well as the cost of the marriage festival itself (1946:125–127).

Although Fei finds the practice of adopting a girl as a future wife for a son (the *siaosiv* system) to be a new institution for Kaihsienkung, his theory of its economic *raison d'être* coincides with Lang's explanation. Fei, however, goes a step further:

> The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practiced by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavorable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry (1939:54–55).

When one examines the conditions under which families in the Hsin Hsing area adopt a girl as a future wife for a son and the frequency

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tions less often lead to marriage is that the girl objects to marrying the family's son and insists on being allowed to marry outside her adoptive family. The more equal balance of the sexes and the increased economic opportunities for outside work, even in the rural towns beyond the obvious opportunities of urban migration, have given the young people a mobility never possible before, in addition to loosening the family's economic hold on them. An unwilling young woman or man can now threaten to go to the city to work if a projected marriage is for any reason distasteful. And even if the family, by extreme coercion, should attempt to force through a *sioasiv* system marriage, the young people now have a further protection, since such forced marriage arrangements are not upheld by law.

The changed economic situation with its concomitant effects on mobility and increased independence from the traditional authority of the family makes it possible for young people to resist prearranged marriages as they were never able to do before. It seems likely that these factors underlie the apparent decrease in the number of marriages between son and adopted daughter.

Adoption of a Son

The kind of family most likely to adopt a son is generally one which has no sons of its own. The fears of such people that there will be no one to take care of them in their old age or to worship them after death, or to furnish descendants to carry on the family line, are the basic reasons for such adoptions. This kind of adoption is still common on Taiwan, in urban as well as rural areas. For example, during our stay in Taipei, my own family had a servant from the mainland. She was childless, divorced, and saw little chance that she would be able to remarry. Thus, when she was about thirty years old she adopted a three-year-old boy, boarding him with friends while she worked. Her explanation was that she would need someone to take care of her in later years and to worship her after she died.

A family willing to give up a son for adoption is usually under the pressure of financial necessity and has more than one son. The necessity must be serious, since a family "selling" its son for adoption gives up all claim to him. The adopting family gives the boy's family money for him, and the villagers say, "When a son is adopted out, it is like cutting off one's finger" and, further, "when one sells [adopts out] a son, one no longer has any relations with him" (*"Mai tzu wu yu tzu chiao"*). The family adopting the boy naturally wants his entire loyalty, the kind of familial closeness their own son would have had. For this reason, not only are his ties to his natal home supposed to be completely broken but the age of adoption of boys is as young as possible, at least below the age of four. In Hsin Hsing there were only

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Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives occurs when one of them has any problem with a nonrelated villager or outsider. Even though the patrilineal relatives may not be on the best of terms, when trouble comes they can usually be depended upon to rally to the support of their fellow kin.

However, while patrilineal kinship is extremely important, it is far from being the only relating factor operative in the village. Often the families within any particular patrilineal groups in Hsin Hsing are not on the best of terms. Hsu (1949:129) points out for West Town, Yunnan, that "Even among families whose heads are brothers and first cousins (patrilineal) there is little solidarity. Most of them do not like each other. Only when there is trouble with outsiders do they tend to unite to some degree. But such unity is very temporary." Hsu's statement has some validity for Hsin Hsing; the overintimacy and also the frequent feeling of competition between related families often tends to cause conflict between them.

In discussions with Hsin Hsing villagers, the relationships between all village families tend to be described in terms of *kan-ch'ing*, good or bad. As already noted in Chapter 3, Fried (1953:226–227) defines *kan-ch'ing* as a concept or code of relationships between non-kin of different status, which differs from friendship in that it "includes a recognized degree of exploitation." However, in the Hsin Hsing area, I have found that the term is extended to cover the quality of kin relationships as well. In other words, the Hsin Hsing village area people use *kan-ch'ing* to describe the quality of any relationship between people whose relative positions are in some way differentiated in a hierarchy, whether in class, economic, family, or kinship structure.

Thus, in the Hsing Hsing area, I found that villagers not only refer to their *kan-ch'ing* with a landlord, a tenant, and so on, but also use this same term to describe their relations with *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* relatives. We have already seen that when a tenant reports that he has bad *kan-ch'ing* with his landlord it means that he and the landlord are not behaving toward one another in accordance with the relations prescribed or expected on the basis of their relative positions as landlord and tenant in the socioeconomic system. Similarly, when a villager cites his bad *kan-ch'ing* with a relative, for example, he means that for whatever reasons they have not been displaying the kinds of behavior toward one another prescribed by their relative positions in the hierarchal kinship system. As a result, the feeling or sentiment (the *kan-ch'ing*) is not good between them. Close patrilineal kinship, therefore, does not necessarily determine the nature of one's personal feelings and overt behavior within the relationship.

In Hsin Hsing village, as we have already noted, the *tsu* groups do

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618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 578 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

[618] 571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

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degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
431 tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
272 money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the
585 Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several vil-
581 lagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is
612 agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
19 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
612 between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
777 luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

484 The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
494 separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
493 several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

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As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, division is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

lages with whom they have developed strong relationships on the basis of being *ch'in ch'i* or friends.

The apparently recent relative importance of these latter connections stems from the individual family's increased need to solidify matrilateral and affinal relationships as well as friendship ties outside the village for purposes of status and socioeconomic security. The intensity of these relationships beyond the village in many cases surpasses those with non-kin fellow villagers. These relationships, however, must not and do not supercede loyalty to *ch'in tsu*.

Villagers today, therefore, continue to prefer marriage with nonrelatives or strangers with whom they can establish outside *ch'in ch'i* relationships which will lead to added security. Such connections better fit the present socioeconomic and political needs of villagers who no longer necessarily find it advantageous to focus their relationships within the village or even to continue to live in the village. In turn extra-village contacts, once developed, tend to reinforce the growing socioeconomic self-reliance of the economic family unit already heightened by mobility and nonvillage-based relationships.

We have already seen how these factors have weakened the villagers' traditional ties to their home village and *tsu*. But at the same time, the impingement of the government, through its Land Reform Program, has played a part in this process. In Chapter 4 we saw how the land reform, by placing limitations on the accumulation of land, affected the traditional means by which social status and leadership can be achieved. Thus, stimulated by such a complex of developments, we find that more and more villagers are far from averse to the sale of their land for immediate financial advantage.

Often the family, *tsu*, or village cannot exert the necessary pressure to keep the land in the hands of the family or at least among members of the larger kinship group. This is partly because of the relatively small and weakened state of *tsu* organization in the Hsin Hsing village area and partly because of the weakening of the organization of the village itself. Where either *tsu* or village organization was strong, the situation could be quite different. Fei and Chang (1948: 126) noted in their 1939–1943 study in Yunnan province that it was a duty of "clansmen" to retain land inherited from ancestors and that custom decreed that such land be sold only to "clan" members. Only if "clan" members were unable to buy the land or to assist their kinsman in "extricating himself from his financial difficulties" could the land be sold to an outsider. In such case, all the "near members of the seller's clan" would have to consent to the sale in writing, and if this were not done the sale was "both customarily and legally invalid."

However, for many village families in the Hsin Hsing village area, whatever feeling of intimacy or even reverence they may retain for the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
China AF1
Taiwan AD6

these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

areas of China allowed several distinct forms of marriage. Aside from what we will hereafter refer to as the preferred patrilocal marriage, in which an adult woman married and became a member of her husband's household, customs in most areas of the country also recognized some form of matrilocal marriage.[2] On the plains west of Kunming Fei and Chang found that families who had no sons, and sometimes even those who did have sons, could arrange for a daughter to "take a husband into her father's house, so that she may have children to perpetuate the family line." According to local custom, the man who entered into such a marriage "changes his surname and retains the name he receives from his father as the last word of his personal name." His first son would usually "take his mother's surname, but subsequent children are free to choose their father's original surname." "If they do so, however, they will not be entitled to inherit land from their mother's line."[3] Similarly, a family in North China might "adopt" a son-in-law for a daughter if they did not have male offspring of their own, and in at least some regions of the north a family whose married son died might arrange a matrilocal marriage for their daughter-in-law. Among the southern Chinese matrilocal institutions were even more common and more highly differentiated. Maurice Freedman finds that even today the Hokkien farmers of Singapore recognize at least three distinct

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[2] Since the use of the terms "patrilocal" and "matrilocal" is standard in anthropological writing on China, I have here preferred them to the more current terms "virilocal" and "uxorilocal."

[3] Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, Earthbound China (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1948), p. 113.

forms of matrilocal marriage. "One extreme category embraces husbands who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides." Such a husband is said "to boe toa-teng, to sell the great lantern, for he resigns his proper place under the house-lantern which bears his own surname and goes out to beget children who will take the surname of his father-in-law." At the other extreme is what is often referred to in Amoy-Hokkien as chin-tsoe, "a custom by which a man goes on marriage to live with his wife's people without any prejudice to his rights as a father." And, finally, "between these two extreme categories of matrilocal marriage lies another in which the husband, while, as in the case of the chin-tsoe, having full rights over his children is committed to definite economic obligations towards his parents-in-law." A man who makes such a marriage "receives his bride on the understanding that he will live in her parents' household and support them as long as they live."[4]

Another common alternative to a formal bethrothal and wedding was the practice of taking prospective daughters-in-law into the home as small children. In the silk producing regions of the Yangtze plain, for example, Fei discovered that the parents of a male child often took a girl "as foster child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast..." In such cases, "all the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending

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4 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, (London: H.M.F.O., 1957), pp. 122-123.

of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed..."[5] Similarly, it was common in the Taihang Mountains of North China for a bride "to leave home as a child, immediately on betrothal, to live with her future husband's family." "The actual wedding ceremony, which would then be performed while the young couple were still in their teens, would be only a simple affair, with just a few close relatives invited to a meal."[6] Such marriages were also common in South China, and particularly among the Amoy-Hokkien speaking populations of Fukien and Taiwan. Uzuru Okada's 1934-5 survey of 148 farm families living in a rural district near the present city of Taipei indicates that nearly a fourth of all the unmarried girls in the area were children who had been adopted as "little daughters-in-law."[7]

Everywhere in China one could also find a variety of forms of adoption, each possessed of a distinctive ritual and an appropriate nomenclature. Girls adopted as prospective daughters-in-law were everywhere distinguished from girls who were adopted as daughters. The prospective daughter-in-law was eligible to marry a son of her foster family and retained her status as a daughter of her natal family, while the girl adopted as a daughter broke all ties with her natal family and acquired the same status as a child born into her

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5 Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939), p. 53.

6 Isabel and David Crook, Revolution in a Chinese Village (Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1959), p. 10.

7 Uzuru Okada, Kiso Shaki, ("The foundations of society"), (Tokyo, Japan: Kobundo). See chart on page 8.

foster family. Local custom in most areas of the country also recognized two distinct forms of male adoption, the criterion in this case being the relationship between the child's foster family and his natal family. If the two families were agnates, the adoption fell into one category; while if they were not, it belonged to another. Generally speaking, the child's status in his foster family was much the same regardless of the form of the adoption, but the nature of the transaction itself was very different in the two cases. In the first case, the adopting family did not give more than token remuneration to the boy's parents, perhaps not more than a few dollars in a red envelope, while in the second the adopting family had to pay dearly for the child. The difference is reflected in the verbs used to denote the two acts of adoption. When a child was adopted from an agnate, the act of adoption was referred to with the term chī, a verb which is ordinarily rendered in English with some form of the verb "to adopt," whereas the act of obtaining a child from a non-agnate was more commonly spoken of in terms of the verb bué, the most common meaning of which is simply "to buy."[8]

Such a variety of alternative forms of marriage and adoption created for most Chinese families a number of recurring decisions

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[8] Since the present study is concerned with an Amoy-Hokkien speaking community, all linguistic forms have been romanized following the Hokkien pronounciation. Place names, on the other hand, follow the post office spellings. For a description of the Hokkien transcription used here see Nicholas C. Bodman, Spoken Amoy Hokkien (Kuala Lampur, Federation of Malaya: Charles Grenier & Son Limited, 1955).

about their membership. If they had a son they could obtain a wife for him by means of the preferred patrilocal marriage, or they could choose to adopt a girl and raise her as his wife. A daughter might be married out of the family as a young adult; she might be used as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family; or the family might decide not to raise the girl at all. In this case, they could give her to a family which wanted to raise a girl as a daughter-in-law, or, if they preferred, they could give her to another family which wanted a daughter. A family so unfortunate as to not bear any children might choose to perpetuate their line in any one of a number of ways. They could adopt a daughter and later arrange a matrilocal marriage for her, or they could adopt a son and arrange some form of patrilocal marriage. This boy might either be purchased from a stranger, or he might be adopted from an agnate; and his wife might either be a girl obtained in the preferred way, or she might be adopted as a child and raised in the family. While a family would not encounter all of these alternatives in any one generation, they would over the course of several generations have to choose among most of them.

Why did some families choose to marry their daughter out of the family, while others preferred to arrange a matrilocal marriage? Why did some families adopt girls and raise them as wives for their sons, while others waited until their sons' maturity to select their wives? When we ask such questions as these we are inquiring into the origins of social structure. The decision of a Chinese family to adopt a girl and raise her as a wife for one of their sons involved a choice between

two very different social arrangements. In the case of Kaihsienkung in Chekiang Province, for example, the affinal ties created by the preferred form of marriage were "very loose and in many cases entirely eliminated" in the "little daughter-in-law" or *siaosiv* form of marriage.[9] Moreover, the two forms of marriage resulted in very different domestic relations. In the case of the preferred form of marriage, conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was so common that "friction between them is taken as usual and harmony as worth special praise."[10] In the case of the *siaosiv* form of marriage, on the other hand, the girl was brought up by her future mother-in-law and became "very closely attached to the latter and feels towards her just like a daughter," the result being that "conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is often not so acute, even if not entirely avoided."[11]

In societies in which there are alternative forms of marriage and adoption the structure of the family is to some extent a product of those factors which make people likely to choose one or another of these alternatives. In at least this limited sense one may say that the study of these decisions is a study of the origins of social structure, but there is another way in which social structure may be said to be a product of such decisions. In any society the rules which

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9 Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the mainland, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's something you should ask the old people about."

But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien groups have blurred with time; there still remains a sharp distinction between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a certain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so "the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon. Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five years.

Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 5

THE DECISION MAKERS

192 [171] In his description of marriage practices in Singapore Maurice Freedman points out that there are significant differences between the English and Hokkien usage of the verb "to marry."[1] Whereas the English verb takes as its subject only the man and woman who are parties to the marriage, the Hokkien equivalent, the verb chhia, may take as its subject any person who is a member of the kê, his father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, even his brothers and sisters. The same observation can be made of English and Hokkien verbs denoting the act of adoption. In English the only persons who can speak of adopting a particular child are the child's foster parents. In Hokkien, however, any member of the foster parents' kê may use the verb chī or bue in speaking of an adoption.

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*121 *592 *584 *597 The significance of these differences in usage for our present discussion lies in the fact that they reflect a difference in the social structure of the two societies. In most English speaking countries the primary responsibility for decisions regarding marriage and adoption lies with the future mates in the case of marriage and with the foster parents in the case of adoption. In most Chinese speaking areas, on the other hand, decisions about marriage and adoption are family matters

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1 Maurice Freedman, Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

*593 581 858 181 Decisions about the sīn-pûa form of marriage are usually made by the boy's parents or grandparents when the child himself is only two or three years of age. It is therefore important to note at the outset that it is their right and duty to make this decision in terms of their own best interests and the best interests of the family. The child's own interests may be set aside as a consideration of secondary importance without any risk of social disapprobation or personal guilt. A parent may sympathize with his son if his marriage turns out to be a personally unhappy one, but he need not feel guilty because he was responsible for the decision. It was simply not his responsibility to consider the child's personal happiness in making a decision about his marriage. Children exist for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the family, not the family and the parents for the sake of their children. Although the Christian and the Chinese peasant agree that one of the primary functions of the family is to beget children, [171] they base their conclusions on entirely different premises. The Christian must be a father for the sake of the children; the Chinese farmer must be a father because it his duty as a son. For the Christian the greater obligation always rests with the parents, while for the Chinese the greater obligation always rests with the children. They must obey and respect their parents; work for their parents' support and comfort; and eventually marry and provide descendants to *593 insure their parents' security in the next world. So basic is this 766 attitude to the Chinese view of family life that should a child die before his parents, his father may justly beat his coffin with a stick

desirability of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, at least not when it is a question of their own marriage.

In view of the findings of studies of juvenile behavior in the United States, one is tempted to interpret this rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage as one symptom of a more general rejection of parental authority. From this perspective one might argue that there was nothing undesirable about such marriages other than the fact that they represented an extreme case of the imposition of parental will. But while such a general motivation may account for a part of the younger people's resistance, it is not an adequate explanation of their complete rejection of this form of marriage. If the revolt against the sīm-pûà marriage were just one aspect of a more general revolt against parental authority, we should expect to find a general resistance to all forms of arranged marriages, but such information as we have seems to indicate that this is not the case. At least 9 of the 15 men who refused to marry their sīm-pûà did allow their parents to choose a bride and make all of the arrangements to marry them in the preferred way, and in only 2 or possibly 3 of the cases did the young man insist upon marrying a particular girl against his parents' will. It would therefore seem that what the young were resisting was the specific form of marriage rather than simply the imposition of parental authority.

Another possible explanation of the rejection of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it is the result of what most foreigners are pleased to call "modernization." Since this form of marriage is

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

• 171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese migrated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwanese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the enforced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools and the army (both of which are compulsory for males while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357 (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940 Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,560,000 by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206). There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number of categories as is done regularly in the official records. With approximate official percentages listed for 1963, the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1), Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206). The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien, and minor numbers of others.

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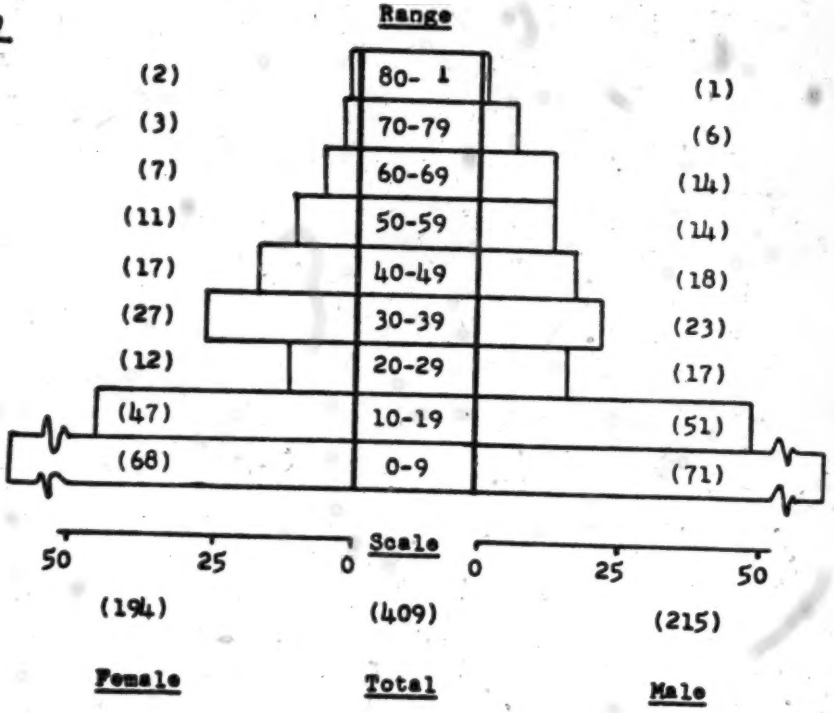

Figure 3. Population Pyramid, Sanlei Village, 1966

171 is seriously under-represented. In comparison with figures 162 for all of Taiwan at the end of 1966 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3), the percentage distribution is nearly identical for most categories although there is a slightly higher percentage of people under 10 and also of people over 60 in the village as compared with the nation. However, in the 20 to 29 age bracket, the village percentage is 7.1% as opposed to Taiwan's 13.2%. Since the immediately preceding category, ages 10-19, is nearly

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
• 171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
483 and which are not. The community members exert social
829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

463 626 [305] business. He also explained that every villager had his haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pai had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 191 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 583 591 In order to continue the family line and provide descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 583 591 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan based on official records provided by Barclay for the period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

CHAPTER VI

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

571 The third category in the discussion of the social organization of Sanlei Ts'un is "voluntary associations." This is merely a convenient label for it should not be construed that the social units discussed in the two preceding chapters lack aspects of volunteerism. For example, although the farmers' association is a formal unit, membership and participation in governance is voluntary. Even though processes creating initial membership in kinship units may be voluntary, i.e., birth, adoption, arranged marriage, continued participation is voluntary, particularly in such larger units as the "ta chia ting" or "compound."

Money Lending Club

525 Sanlei Ts'un has money lending clubs similar to 575 those which have been described for a Japanese village [71] (Embree, 1939:138-147) and for mainland China (Fei, 1939: 267-74). The clubs range in size from ten to thirty members with a typical size of about twenty. Clubs are set for a certain amount, say $300.00 per man. The first night the club meets, everyone pays the club organizer

conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to such disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

769 of the family.

The censer also possesses a quantity of spiritual essence, i.e., it is a repository of part of the ancestor's souls. Therefore, it can not be touched by an outsider and in parts of Taiwan, may be hidden from view (Thelin and Li, 1963). In Sanlei, if there are two censers with different surnames in a single shrine they will be separated by a barrier so they can not "see" each other. Villagers universally claim that ancestors with different surnames fight.

In the discussion of compounds in Chapter V, I pointed out that many households had more than one censer. Moreover, some censers do not belong, i.e., according to the Great Tradition, the only pots in a household should be those of patrilineal ancestors of the head of the household. Sometimes, as noted, a wife brings her family ancestral pot and in at least one case, no living member of a household knows where a particular censer came from.

121 769 Once more, because of the lack of specific information in the literature, it is impossible to ascertain if Sanlei is normal or deviant as compared with other Chinese villages in this regard. The closest comparison derives from a paper delivered by Professor Robert Smith at an Alpha Kappa Delta meeting at Michigan State University. [171] Professor Smith noted that ancestral shrines in Japan

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[171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

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592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in [171] Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [543] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

* 171 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

Cooley's construct of a primary-secondary relationship continuum (1909), Americans expect a kindergarden or first grade teacher to have a primary relationship with his students, i.e., he should be intimate and have knowledge of the child's home life, father's occupation, number of siblings, etc. As the child progresses in school, his relationships with teachers moves steadily towards the secondary end of the continuum, reaching its lowest point near the second year of college. It then reverses again approaching a maximum at the primary end during advanced graduate work.

The Chinese model is quite different. The first grade teacher has an extreme form of a secondary relationship with his pupils possessing knowledge of the student's name and academic performance and little more. He should not be warm; rather, he should be extremely harsh, a style of behavior considered best by teacher and parents alike. Indeed, parents will criticize a teacher on the basis that he doesn't look "fierce" enough. The new principal who assumed the position during our study experienced some problems establishing her competency because she was a female. Villagers felt that no female could be quite as frightening to a child as a male and therefore, she would not be able to properly fulfill the principal's main function of discipline. The secondary relationship is maintained with almost all students throughout primary school although a few

87% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
• 171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

• 171 The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that
585 described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf,
584 1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a
part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between
the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability
583 may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be
a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although
the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride
price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be ex-
changed between the two families with the total amount ex-
584 changed marking the status of the two families. The en-
gagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while
585 the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding,
some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride
is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning.
Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's
family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will
remain for most of the next three days. During the day
they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a
luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party
that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay
their share of the cost because before the invitation is ex-
tended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people
sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family
is rated by counting the number of tables. After three
days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for
lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The